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MAY MEETING, 1897.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock P. M., in the rooms temporarily occupied by the Society, at No. 73 Tremont Street; the First Vice-President, JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the Annual Meeting was read and approved, and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library. Among them was Col. Theodore A. Dodge, who gave a complete set of his historical and military publications.

The Hon. Richard Olney was elected a Resident Member.

The Hon. ROGER WOLCOTT said that he had received from the Bishop of London an official notification that the original manuscript of Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation had been delivered to the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, lately Ambassador of the United States to Great Britain, to be by him placed in the hands of the Governor of Massachusetts; and that he had also received from Mr. Bayard a similar notification of the receipt of the volume, which Mr. Bayard would take an early opportunity after his arrival in this country to bring to Boston.

Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young, Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, and Mr. Charles C. Smith were appointed a Committee for publishing the Proceedings for the current year.

Mr. JAMES M. BUGBEE presented the memoir of the late Hon. Henry L. Pierce, which he had been appointed to prepare for publication in the Proceedings.

Dr. Samuel A. Green was appointed to write the memoir of the late Abbott Lawrence, the younger, in place of the late Hamilton A. Hill, who died before completing the work assigned to him; and the Right Rev. William Lawrence, D.D., was appointed to write the memoir of the late Amos A. Lawrence, which had been previously assigned to Dr. Green.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR said that his attention had been called by Mr. Edward Arber to the possibility that the missing account of the voyage of the "Mayflower" sent to England by

Governor Bradford in the "Fortune," the next vessel which sailed for home, might be found in the French archives, and that the matter had been brought to the notice of the Secretary of State and the newly appointed American Ambassador to France, with a view to having a proper search made for this interesting document.

MR. A. C. GOODELL, JR., referred to the remarks by the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, at the Annual Meeting, on the Bowdoin and Temple Papers, and spoke in substance as follows:—

Those of you who listened to the remarks of our associate Judge Chamberlain at our last Annual Meeting may have been led to expect, from his reference to my studies of the political progress of the Revolution, something from me to-day on the theme to the exposition of which he has been so long devoted.

Of course, I would not upon this floor attempt an elaborate defence of the patriotic party, knowing full well the comparative distastefulness (or shall I say unpopularity?) of the views I hold, and the insufficient time to which I am limited by a regard to your patience, and a consideration of the rights of other members present. I cannot, however, fully excuse myself for neglecting this opportunity to animadvert upon the drift of our new school of American historical writers and teachers towards obsolete ultra-Tory notions. Indeed, many of these writers are not merely drifting towards the old enemy, but have already joined the hostile forces with all the enthusiasm of recent converts. Sophistries, some ingeniously plausible and some extremely weak, and glaring perversions of history are resorted to to defend their abandonment of the theories of the Revolutionary patriots.

One point of general concurrence with them seems to be the opinion that the omnipotence of Parliament is and has always been an acknowledged fundamental feature of the English Constitution, whereas that is precisely the question upon which, at the beginning of the Revolution, the patriots of the colonies and the supporters of the ministry held diametrically opposite views. Indeed, it is only by insisting upon the negative of this proposition that the Revolution could then or can now be justified. This is a question upon which great authorities have differed from as far back as England has a history worthy of

the name. The controversy admits of but two methods of settlement: one by mutual agreement or yielding, — with or without arbitration, — and the other by the sword. Both of these methods are legitimate, according to English law. The American Revolution ended in trial by battle, and, however unsatisfactory the result may have been to the defeated party, it was conclusive; and, so far as the relations of Great Britain to her thirteen American colonies are concerned, it is a complete estoppel to further dispute regarding the issue involved. Hence it does not lie in the mouths of either party, especially of the descendants of American patriots, to impeach a judgment the validity of which has been recognized by the British Government in making it the basis of diplomatic intercourse, as well as by reconstructing the colonial policy of the Empire in accordance with the principles for which those patriots contended.

I have never, before this Society, attempted to criticise particular essays except when they were used to support some motion before us, — deeming such criticism not legitimately within the purposes for which the Society was formed; so in what I may say in reference to special instances of the fault I condemn, I shall forbear to mention authors or titles.

I have lately read an elaborate historical essay prepared with admirable industry and with full citations of the authorities which the writer deemed important for his purpose, in which the charge of beginning the “usurpation,” as he calls it, of 1775 is laid upon the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. Now, the logical steps by which this conclusion is arrived at proceed from the assumption that the only legitimate foundation of the provincial government was not the Charter, in its original integrity as an irrevocable act of royal prerogative, but that instrument, nominally, with such essential modifications and changes as the Parliament from time to time should, in the exercise of its omnipotent authority, see fit to enact.

The author makes no qualification of this supreme authority of Parliament. He leaves no room for the interposition of any barrier to its absolute despotism, — nothing, in short, to prevent it from decreeing the confiscation of the property of the colonists, and their decimation or total extinction. The existence of a colonial or provincial congress he considers plenary proof of its illegality, and argues that the people, when driven to the alternative of supine surrender of all political rights, or

of combining in some form for interchange of views and concert of action for the public good, were, in so combining, unquestionably bent on revolution, and deliberately committing an act of usurpation.

It is needless to say that this, the logic of the old Toryism, is as faulty; and ought to be as offensive, as its congener, the exploded doctrine of the divine right of kings. It is difficult to conceive how intelligent minds favorably interested in the progress of popular government can tolerate such notions, — notions that receive no support from the course of history, which is a constantly widening departure from the idea that in government, as well as in other affairs of life, man is inferior to his accidents, and that he can voluntarily bind himself to slavery or be bound to it by prescription. So often has the exigency been presented to them that it has become a sort of common law with Englishmen that upon sudden changes of dynasty or on occasion of interruptions of the regular succession of the Crown, by which the administration is forced into new channels, the orderly and proper mode of continuing government is, first, by the formation of a voluntary committee for public safety and for the conservation of the peace; next, by a popular convention; and finally, by the restoration, as far as practicable or desirable, of the system of government which pre-existed, but which had been interrupted by civil commotion. This is the story of the changes attending and following the Cromwellian civil war, and, both here and in England, of the revolution which ended in establishing the succession of the crown upon William and Mary. Even under monarchical government no other theory of political duty is conceivable that does not imply the possible advisability of total and abject surrender to tyranny; and in a republic the only alternative is manifestly mob-rule or military dictatorship.

The acts of Parliament professing to change the Province Charter, if they were operative, practically revolutionized the existing system of local government. This parliamentary "usurpation," though preceded by a train of what were regarded here as unconstitutional acts of interference by the ministry in the affairs of the province, was actually the beginning of the Revolution, and would have been instantly resented as a *casus belli*, had not a lingering hope remained that what Parliament had denied might yet be coaxed from, or vouch-

safed by, the king in the exercise of his prerogative. That this was a vain expectation was not so obvious then as it is now, notwithstanding the fact then known that the objectionable acts had been passed not only with the king's full and free concurrence, but at his suggestion.

The inhabitants of the province, in their attempts to extricate themselves from the predicament into which they were forced by the ministry and the Parliament, proceeded by the most cautious, wise, and deliberate steps to the ultimate result. That this course involved bloodshed was not unexpected, but not their fault. They took up arms against unconstitutional acts of Parliament under a weightier law. With them, as with all other patriots who have contributed to the glory of the English race, fealty to the constitution was the paramount duty. The precise limits of the English Constitution have never been defined. Of that variable and expanding entity, however, it may be said there are some grand and admirable features that are fundamental and constant,—chief among which is the guaranty of the life, liberties, and property of the individual citizen. That this is the supreme underlying purpose of government will probably not be denied to-day by the most zealous defender of prerogative, nor the most pertinacious stickler for parliamentary supremacy. Tory and Liberal alike applaud Pitt's glowing picture of the sacredness of the poorest man's cottage from royal invasion,—a picture which is a mockery and a fraud, if the right it extols can be taken away by Parliament. It behooves the apologist for the American Loyalists, therefore, to show some consistent and philosophical reason why the same privilege does not extend to other property of the subject, and to his enjoyment of other liberties than the exclusive freedom of his homestead. The American patriots understood the Constitution of England as it was understood by Coke and Milton, Hobart and Locke, Holt, Camden, and Pitt, and it is far more fitting that our historical scholars labor to expound and defend the doctrines of such teachers than that they attempt to uphold the waning cause of Toryism by writing essays calculated for the atmosphere of the Westminster and St. James of a century and a half ago.

Mr. WINSOR then gave an interesting extemporaneous summary of the following paper, which he said would occupy too much time if he were to read it in full:—

Baptista Agnese and American Cartography in the Sixteenth Century.

So far as I know, there are but two of the Italian portolanos of Agnese's time in American libraries, and both of these are in the Carter-Brown Collection at Providence. They have been acquired of late years. One is undoubtedly by Agnese. It is the most beautiful of his works, and well known in the history of cartography. The other is a work which in execution bears in parts a strong resemblance to his recognized productions. It represents, however, within the same covers on some sheets the well-known views of Agnese as to the configuration of the New World, but on others the conjectures of a rival school, which made North America an easterly extension of Asia. This is a peculiarity which militates against the atlas being in all parts the work of Agnese, unless we accept the belief of Kretschmer, who avers that Agnese latterly became a convert to this Asiatic theory, as shown in a world map in the National Library at Naples, and which with no hesitation he ascribes to Agnese. He gives a sketch of it (Atlas, XVIII. No. 5) which closely resembles a map in gores in the Carter-Brown atlas.

Neither of these atlases at Providence is dated; nor are they signed. It is more difficult to determine the period of Agnese's undated work than that of almost any other map-maker of the sixteenth century, for the reason that he was inclined to cling to favorite geographical conceptions long after they were thrown in doubt by newer discoveries. He is generally thought to have expended more care upon the appearance of his maps than upon securing correspondence in them to the latest views. These divergences are of course most apparent in the American parts of his atlases, as it was a period necessarily of constant change in the geographical conceptions of the New World.

Of no other cartographer of that time have so many specimens of work come down to us, and it is by no means certain that the catalogue of Agnese's productions is yet complete. His method of signing his maps was in these words, or in some slight variation of the legend: "Baptista Agnese, Januensis, fecit Venetiis," to which the year and sometimes the month and day were occasionally added. By his own profession, therefore, he was a Genoese, working at Venice. In that

city he labored for about thirty years, turning out atlases, which usually have from ten to fifteen plates, but in a few instances show more than double that number. These atlases commonly have a world map of an elliptical shape, and almost invariably on that particular map he marks three or more great ocean routes by silvered or pricked lines. One of these is the route, as followed by Magellan's ship, to the Moluccas, and its return by the Cape of Good Hope. Another is to the Isthmus of Panama, and down the South American coast to Peru. His earlier maps also, where the Sea of Verrazano is recognized, show a track, called that of the French, to an isthmus midway along the Atlantic coast of North America, and continued beyond across the Pacific towards India. The presence of these tracks on a map having other of Agnese's characteristics is a pretty sure sign of his authorship.

What we know of Agnese's career is almost wholly derived from his works; and at least half of these, as we recognize them, are anonymous and undated. There has been some difference of opinion as to the length of his cartographical service. Wieser and Kretschmer assign to him atlases in the British Museum of as early dates as 1527 and 1529. Kohl puts his earliest work in 1530. HARRISSE starts his career with a group of portolanos known to have been made in 1536. Kohl does not trace him beyond 1545. HARRISSE and Kretschmer find his latest work to be in 1564. It is significant of his want of care in registering the progress of geographical knowledge, that in this atlas of 1564, which is preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice, the Chilean coast is still undefined, though it had been known in Europe to have been tracked nearly thirty years. Cartier had established the insularity of Newfoundland at about the same time, and still in 1564 Agnese does not recognize its island character.

Professor FISCHER, of Kiel, in 1885 counted twelve of Agnese's atlases, of which he had knowledge; and the editor of the Catalogue of the Geographical Exhibit in London in 1895 gave the number as thirteen. Both of these probably referred to Agnese's indubitable and signed atlases. HARRISSE, who in his French book on the Cabots first reckoned their number, revised his count in his "Discovery of North America," and enumerates twenty-one which are dated, and eighteen

which are without year, making thirty-nine in all. Kretschmer, who is the latest enumerator, gives twenty-seven dated, and an equal number undated, or fifty-four in all. He claims to have added to earlier enumerations, two with dates, one of June 8, 1542, in the Vatican, and another of September 1, 1543, in the Museo Civico at Venice. In addition he joins to the undated list six others, of which two are in the National Library at Naples, two in the Royal Library at Berlin, and one each in the Museo Civico at Venice and in the University Library at Bologna. It is fair to say that Ruge, who touches the subject in his "*Kartographie von America*," does not accept the authenticity of all of Kretschmer's newer specimens. Bellio, in a section on cartography in the great Italian work commemorative of Columbus, describes ten of those preserved in Italy.

There exists more or less uncertainty in determining the genuineness of the undated atlases, because of the productions of imitators of Agnese's work, though those of inferior skill in artistic handling are easily discarded. In the "*Catalogue des documents géographiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*," which were exhibited in Paris in 1892, No. 154 is called "*Contrefaçon des Atlas de Baptista Agnese*."

Though Agnese was conspicuous for his conservative habit in geographical views, there are a few marked stages in his professional progress, and it is to show these, as well as his neglect of opportunities for better knowledge, that it may be worth while now to follow his thirty-odd years of work.

Harrissee does not apparently accept the views of Fischer, Weiser, and Kretschmer regarding the atlases ascribed to the years 1527 and 1529, though they seem to be accepted by Canale in his "*Storia del Commercio*" (Geneva, 1886), and are chronicled by Amat and Uzielli in their "*Studi della società geografica Italiana*" (Roma, 1882).

These dates, 1527 and 1529, correspond curiously to those of the two great Borgian maps of the New World, which Kohl has illustrated in his "*Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von America*," and which in the best opinions are the work of the Spanish Royal hydrographer, Ribero. They are important as giving emphasis to a type of the American coasts which influenced Agnese and was followed for many years by the best contemporary map-makers. Up to the time of Ribero, the contour of South America had been rounded

out hypothetically, in distinct resemblance to its actual shape ; and this cartographical surmise is shown in nearly all the geographical notions which were entertained in American cartography, subsequent to the discovery of the South Sea by Balboa. One effect of that discovery, with the observed trend of the South American coast on the Pacific side, was to implant confidence in the separate continental bulk of that part of the New World, long before Magellan proved it. This we see in the globes of Schöner in 1515 and 1520, in the Hauslab globe, in the Lenox globe, and in the Green globe, — a recent discovery. The same confidence is expressed in the gores (for a globe) which pass under the names of Da Vinci, Boulenger, and Nordenskiöld ; and the same features are portrayed in the well-known maps of Stobnicza, Apian, Verrazano, Maiollo, and Thorne.

It is still the fact that after Ribero had given the stamp of the Spanish hydrographic office to a western coast of South America, which showed no defined shore line between upper Peru and lower Patagonia, most of the unofficial maps continued to offer an unbroken coast along southern Peru and Chili. This is the case with the Nancy and De Bure (gilt) globes, with the well-known Turin atlas, with both the single and double heart maps of Finæus, and with the curious olive-jar outline of South America given in the map which Münster furnished to Grynæus in 1532, and which is repeated in Vadianus two years later.

In the interval between Ribero (1527, 1529) and Agnese's accepted popularity (1536), there had grown up a reaction from the original conception of America which Columbus had advanced in making it an eastern extension of Asia. It is now well established that these views of the admiral did not meet universal approval in the beginning, and within three or four years last passed it has been rendered certain that, after the experiences of his latest voyage, Columbus himself rejected them, and believed that a sea lay beyond Central America and between it and India. This evidence we find in the map which Bartholomew Columbus carried to Rome, and which Professor Wieser, of Innsbruck, discovered in Florence in 1892. The maps, then, after about 1510, and for fifteen years following, represent, except when the issue was avoided, as it sometimes was, a configuration of North America entirely distinct

from Asia. This is shown in a marked way in a Portuguese chart preserved at Munich, which gives an unmistakably Asiatic and American shore to the North Pacific in 1513; and the same views are presented in the Green and Hauslab globes, the Boulenger and Nordenskiöld gores, and in the remarkable Stobnicza map, made in Warsaw.

The work of the globe-maker Schöner is particularly interesting in this respect. In his globes of 1515 and 1520 he had conformed to the reactionary view which Bartholomew Columbus had set the example for after the last voyage of his brother. He made a globe, which is not now known, in which he went back to the original views of Columbus, and made Asia and North America one and the same. He was induced to make this change of opinion from finding that Magellan had not discovered any continental land farther south. He may also have reasoned from Cortes' extravagant stories of Mexican life, which others than Schöner associated with the barbaric splendors of Asia. Schöner continued to hold these newer views in 1533, when he made another globe, which has come down to us. In the year (1526) following that in which the missing globe of Schöner was made, these same current Mexican stories are known to have induced Franciscus Monachus to place a map in his "*De orbis situ*" (Antwerp), which remains the earliest engraved cartographical delineation which we actually have, of this same theory, which Schöner had adopted, though Ayllon in 1520 had indicated it by placing elephants and other Asiatic emblems on the Carolina coast. Within the next ten years, beside the lost Schöner globe, we count several other specimen maps offering the same characteristics. These are the De Bure globe in the great library at Paris, of copper-gilt, with Latin legends, and perhaps of German origin, and apparently to be assigned to 1528 or thereabouts; the Sloane manuscript map, in the British Museum, of about 1530; the double cordiform map of Orontius Finæus of 1531; the wooden globe of 1535, also in the Paris library, — still another recent discovery (1881), and the long-known Nancy globe of the same date.

Besides these two theories of the North American contour which Agnese had to decide between in 1536, there was a current conception which had sprung from Verrazano's voyage in 1524, and which had received illustration in the map made

by his brother, and now in the Propaganda at Rome. It had been further exemplified in a Maiollo map (1527) now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Further than this the views about the west coast of South America which Ribero, in 1527, had accepted, in leaving a long gap, where we now place the Chilean shore, had earlier been presented in a planisphere, now in the Royal Library at Turin, and are likewise shown in the Castiglioni map at Mantua (1525), which has recently been made generally known in the great collection of documents published by the Italian Government in recognition of the Columbian anniversary.

These, then, were the views, more or less conflicting, which Agnese dealt with in his own way, when in 1536 he made that group of atlases which constitute the real beginning of the Agnesian cartography. They show that he gave to North America an elongated shape, compressed midway like the nipping of an hour-glass, in recognition of the Verrazano theory, but which he lived to discard. For South America he accepted the Ribero type. Except for the discarding of the Verrazano Sea, he made in the maps that are universally conceded to be his, little change during his whole career down to 1564, in his continental outline, except that he extended his coast line somewhat farther north on the west shore of Mexico, and farther down towards Peru on the South American side. In this judgment we throw out the Bologna atlas, which Kretschmer assigns to Agnese.

There are seven specimens still remaining of the Agnese atlases of this early date (1536), and we name them briefly : —

1536, *March 10*. Not signed. Discovered in Padua in 1881, and now in the Correr Museum at Venice.

1536. Not signed. Kohl thought it either by Agnese or Homem; but it is now generally accounted the work of the former. It is in the Bodleian Library.

1536, *October 13*. Signed. Has eleven maps. In the British Museum.

1536. *Æquinoctialis*. Has nine maps. In the Biblioteca Trivulziana at Milan.

1536. Formerly of the Guyon de Sardièrre collection (No. 1912), and later in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham, England.

1536. Not signed. Has twelve leaves. In the Royal Library at Dresden. Kohl made a comparison of it with that in the British Museum, and found it much the same.

1536. Not signed. Has only three maps. In the Barberianiana at Rome.

Besides these atlases, there is a single world-map by Agnese in the British Museum, which is signed. Kretschmer swells the number of these 1536 atlases to eight by including this single map.

For an interval now of six or seven years, down to 1542, we have no dated atlas of Agnese. During this period, though Finæus reproduced his views of the Asiatic connection of North America in his mappamundi (1536) of the single-heart projection, that theory continued to be in lesser vogue, but in the end died slowly, lasting with some vitality well on to the end of the century. The signal appearance of Mercator forced a counter action, and in his map of 1538 he completely dis severed North America from Asia. He advanced upon the Ribero plan of neglecting the Chilean coast, and boldly drew it in; but allowed it to be a "*littora incognita*." He so far availed of Cartier's discoveries as to indicate the land about the Gulf of St. Lawrence as broken into islands, — the beginning of an insular Newfoundland in the great map-makers, and a recognition of the separate existence of that earliest English colony, which Agnese in his undoubted maps never reached. The way with which the map-makers now treated this northern region, which ever since Cabot's day had been well known to the fishermen of northern Europe, and of which Cartier had recently proved the insularity, is indicative of the varying impression which the explorers' stories had upon different minds. The maps in the Ptolemy, of 1540, give it a distinct insular independence, while the maps of Homem, a Portuguese cartographer now coming on the stage, treat it as Agnese always did. The Nuremberg gores of about the same date (say 1540) which Stevens undertook to show stood for the missing globe of Schöner of 1523, but which Harrisse and Nordenskiöld put at a much later date, is equally indistinct in the Newfoundland region. So is the Turin atlas, the globe of Ulpius (1542), and the map of Alonso de Santa Cruz (1542). On the contrary, we have a

developed Newfoundland in the Mercator gores (1541), which were discovered some years ago in Brussels; in the maps by Desliens (1541) and Vopellio (1542-1543).

The only change shown by Agnese in this second group of his atlases, covering 1542-1546, is a tendency, not always marked, to depart from the theory of the Verrazano sea, occasioning a fuller sweep to the shading off of the western coast of North America, much as is also shown in the world map of Antonius Florianus of about this date.

Kretschmer claims to have added the earliest of this group to the hitherto known atlases of Agnese, in one which he discovered in the Vatican Library, dated *June 8, 1542*.

Another, of thirteen maps, signed, and preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence, is dated *February 12, 1543*, and is said to have belonged to the Medici family.

The Alfred Huth Collection in London has another signed atlas dated a week later, *February 18, 1543*.

Another, also signed, and of the same date, *1543*, is preserved in the library of the Duke of Coburg-Gotha. Kohl, who copied this for his collection, now at Washington, compared it with the Huth atlas, and found the two identical. Kretschmer seems in error in assigning it to 1546. Ruge gives it 1543.

One, dated *June 25, 1543*, was exhibited at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in the Columbian Year, and has twelve maps (No. 187 of the Catalogue).

A signed atlas, of twelve maps, dated *1544, February 5*, is in the Royal Library at Dresden.

One of fifteen leaves, signed, and dated *May 8, 1545*, was brought to the notice of scholars in the "Mittheilungen d. K. K. Geog. Gesellschaft in Wien" in 1862, and is now in the Marciana in Venice.

Of this group of seven I have examined most carefully that in the Laurentian Library, and I suspect it is a fair type of the others. There are three of the maps which give America. The first of these is the usual world-map, with the hour-glass contour for the continent, the Pacific coast extending from the Gulf of California to Chili, with a bit adjacent to the Straits of Magellan. It has the usual ocean track of Magellan. The second map is much the same for the Pacific coast lying over against the Asiatic shore. The third gives the two Americas;

but it more closely resembles the Ribero model, and indicates the north and south entrances to the Gulf of St. Lawrence without developing the west coast of Newfoundland.

Closely resembling this Laurentian atlas is the one without signature or date, and already referred to as being at Providence. Major and Wieser ascribed it to Agnese, when it was in the Spitzer Collection, and it so closely resembles Agnese's work that there is no doubt expressed on the point by the later writers on the subject. Spitzer and Wiener, who edited the photographic reproduction of it in 1875, undertook to argue from the facts of Valdivia's particularly developing the Chili coast in 1540, and because the atlas showed no recognition of it, that it must be assigned to 1539. But these critics showed little familiarity with a not unusual ignorance or disregard of such matters in cartographers of that time, and better informed examiners have put the atlas at later date. Harrisse thinks it safe to place it under 1542; Fischer, Wieser, and Kretschmer say 1548; and Ruge prefers 1550. That it was made in the formative years of the Dauphin, Philip II., appears from the dedication which it bears of Charles V. to his son, who was born in 1527. That it is of Italian origin seems clear from the use of that language in its legends; and from its close resemblance to the signed work of Agnese, there can be little doubt that this cartographer made it. It has been discussed by a larger number of critics than any other,—by Chavanne, Malte-Brun, Steinhauser, Kohl, Ruge, Kretschmer, Harrisse, and others.

While Agnese was at work upon this middle group of his atlases, Sebastian Cabot was using available material (1544) in developing the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, and from current knowledge putting into completed shape the South American outline. Gastaldi, another Italian, was doing the same in the Lafreri atlas (1546) and in his *Carta Marina* in the Ptolemy of 1548. The map which is associated with the name of Henri II. of France (1546), that of Friere (1546), and one by Nicolas Vallard (1547) all show the influence of Cartier and the later discoveries. The engraved map in the Spanish seamanual of Medina was equally significant of exploration on the South American shores. But Agnese as studiously avoided them as he had done in the past.

The third and latest group of the Agnese portolanos was produced in the last decade of his active career, beginning in 1553. Those of this period which are dated are as follows:

1553, September 1. In the Museo Civico at Venice. I think Kretschmer is the first to note it.

1553, September 10. This is signed, and is one of the most extensive of Agnese's atlases, having thirty-two maps. It is, or was, in the possession of Count Dona at Venice.

1554, July 15. Signed. It was named in 1818 by Zurla in the appendix of his "Marco Polo," as being in a private library in Italy. The modern enumerators include it in their lists; but I have found no recent reference to its present ownership.

1554, October 20. This is more extensive even than the Dona atlas, and has thirty-six maps. It is signed, and is preserved in the Marciana at Venice. It has become well known because it has been edited by Professor Theobald Fischer, of Kiel, in a series of photographic reproductions of old maps, published by Ongania in Venice, this one having been produced in 1881. The American maps of this atlas are about ten years behind the known conditions. The west coast runs up as high as the Gulf of California, and with the discarding of the notion of the Sea of Verrazano, the continent is given a broader expanse. Newfoundland is still a part of the mainland. The legends of the maps are mostly in Latin, though some are in Italian. Though at the present time there are Agnese atlases known to have a date ten years later, Fischer, no longer ago than 1886, thought this one of 1554 the last work of its author. This, with the Philip II. atlas, both having been reproduced, are naturally the best known of all.

1554. Kretschmer makes this one without date, though Ruge and Harris give 1554. It has sixteen maps, and belongs to the Collection of Count Giovanni Battista Giustiniani in Venice.

1555. Cited in the Catalogue (No. 2067) of the Labanoff Collection, dispersed in Paris in 1823; but I have not traced it since.

1559. Signed in Spanish, at Venice; and said to be in the Collection of Perez Junquera at Madrid.

1562, February 4. Said by Kretschmer to be in the University Library at Catania.

1564, May 25. Signed. Eight maps. In the British Museum.

1564. Matkovic, in his "Alte Handschriftliche Schiffer-Karten," gives it as being in the Marciana at Venice, but Harrissee questions it.

During these ten years we find in Ramusio (1556), in the atlas in the Riccardiana Palace, in Homem (1558), in Martines (1558), and in Gutierrez (1562), not to name others, something like an even pace kept with advancing knowledge; but we must continue to record the failure of such progress in a remarkable degree with Agnese, as long as he worked.

These atlases, we have seen, thus fall easily into three groups, marked by the dates, 1536, 1542-1546, and 1553-1564. It is probable that the vacant intervals which these dates disclose were filled more or less by the production of those other atlases of the Agnese type which have come down to us without date. Besides one of these already described as in the Carter-Brown Library, there are various others, of somewhat uncertain number, as opinions vary in some cases about the Agnese origin. Ruge enumerates fourteen such, and Harrissee twenty-one. Kretschmer gives twenty-seven, of which he claims to have added, as already stated, six to previous lists. This supplemental group of Agnese atlases consists of the following:—

Paris. National Library. Ten double maps.

Montpellier, France. Library of the Faculty of Medicine in the University.

Stockholm, Sweden. Formerly belonging to Charles XV. of Sweden, now in the Royal Library. Nordenskiöld describes it as of small size, beautifully executed. He says that this atlas and one in his own possession are the only specimens of sixteenth-century atlases in Sweden.

Turin, Italy. Royal Library. It has fifteen leaves, small octavo. Wuttke describes it in the "Jahrbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde." Dresden, 1873. Plate VII.

Florence, Italy. National Library.

Rome, Italy. Biblioteca Barberiniana. Originally made for Henry VIII. of England.

Rome, Italy. In the Library of the Propaganda. Thomasey, in his "Les Papes géographes," p. 133, describes it as having fourteen maps.

Bologna, Italy. University Library. The American portions are reproduced in Kretschmer's Atlas, Plate XXIII.-XXVI.

Munich, Bavaria. Royal Library. Ten maps. Peschel describes it in the "Elfter Jahresbericht, Gesell. für Erdkunde," Leipsic, 1872; and Kunstmann's Atlas, Nos. VI. and VII., reproduces the American parts.

Wolfenbüttel, Germany. Ducal Library. Fourteen maps.

Dresden, Saxony. Royal Library.

Vienna, Austria. Royal Library. It is signed and dated February 15, but without year.

Naples, Italy. National Library. It is figured in Kretschmer's Atlas, XVIII. 5.

Glasgow, Scotland. University Library. Its Agnese origin is disputed.

There are four others known to be in private hands:—

London. Fourteen maps. H. Y. Thompson.

Vienna. Twelve maps. Emperor of Austria.

Paris. Edmond de Rothschild. It has nine very small maps.

Dijon, France. Library of Count Malartic. Gaffarel, in the "Mémoires de la Société Bourguignonne de Géographie" (1889), places it under 1534.

In conclusion we pass to the consideration of that other sixteenth-century atlas in the Carter-Brown Collection. If Kretschmer is right in supposing that the Naples map which he figures (Plate XVIII.), and which shows the Asiatic connection of North America, is by Agnese, the same characteristics and a corresponding skill in workmanship in parts of this Providence atlas serve to confirm the belief that this is also an Agnese work, and that Agnese latterly became a convert to the views of Schöner and Finæus, or at least was willing to offer them as an alternative theory.

Quaritch in 1885 (No. 362 catalogue, 28,159) offered for £50 an Italian portolano of the sixteenth century, containing twenty-eight maps in vellum, drawn in colors and brightened with gold. The atlas was without name or date, supposed to be of about 1550, and was "perhaps by Agnese." From Quaritch's hands it passed to the Carter-Brown Collection. Of its maps, five showed the Western Hemisphere. Of these, two are of somewhat different workmanship from the others, and

are drawn on the Asiatic theory. Were it not that in the ornamental borders these maps conform to the others which do not show that theory, there might be a suspicion that they had been merely intercalated in binding.

It helps us in deciding upon the date of the atlas, and also in determining that the maps of both theories are of a like origin, that in each, and lying north of the Gulf of California, the seven cities of Cibola are indicated in a similar manner. Coronado had made his visit to this point in 1540, so that this atlas could not be of a period anterior, say, to 1542, and at that time the engraved map of Finæus, advocating the Asiatic theory, had been for ten years before the world. The Chilean coast is in both theories characterized by the same absence of definite contour. Though better informed cartographers had profited by Valdivia's detailed information, it saves not a little of the discredit to the maker of these maps, that Mercator and Cabot, at a still later day, were not much better informed, and that another Italian, Ruscelli, so late as 1561, clung to the dotted line in this region.

Ulloa had found the water east of the California peninsula to be a gulf in 1539, and the full development of that bay in the Carter-Brown atlas is another proof that its date must at least be fixed as late as the second Agnese group of atlases.

There is another indication to establish such a date. Orellana's coursing down the Amazon took place in 1540, and we do not find his results in any printed map till those of Cabot (1544) and Medina (1545). Before this, the drainage system of the South American continent had been imagined to be a river rising, say, in northern Patagonia, and flowing into the Atlantic through the Amazon estuary, which for a long time had been known to receive a great river. This mock Amazon, as we may call it, served to constitute the great continental basin in cartographical conception, even ten years later than Orellana's exploit, as is shown in the maps of Bellero, Ramusio, and Vopellio. This supposed river is also a feature in the Carter-Brown atlas, and perhaps it is some indication of a nearly exact date, that known maps of 1542, like that in Rotz's "Idrography," connect, as our present example does, the mock Amazon with the La Plata, and make an island of eastern Brazil.

The peninsula of Yucatan is in all five of these American

maps treated as an island. The earliest explorers, like Cortes and Pinedo, were at variance on this point, Cortes imagining it an island and Pinedo connecting it with the main. The effect of Mercator's making it (1541) a decided peninsula, after a somewhat doubtful earlier effort on his part in 1538, was to establish a general belief in its decided connection with the continent. That the maker of the Carter-Brown maps did not accept this view, is only another instance of his slowness of decision.

If this map-maker was Agnese, and we compare this work with such a dated and authenticated Agnese as that of 1543, in the Laurentian library, we are again disturbed to find in the Laurentian maps the lingering depression of the Verrazano Sea, and no sign of it in the Carter-Brown atlas, which for other geographical evidence would appear to be of even date.

It seems, therefore, that the reasons for assigning this work to Agnese himself are not conclusive, though the atlas shows something, doubtless, of his influence and habits. The production which it most clearly resembles, especially in the maps of the Asiatic connection, is the atlas in the Biblioteca Riccardiana (Florence), which Wuttke described in 1870 in the Dresden Geographical Society's Annual, and which he there placed about 1550, and conjectured to be the work of Marco Francisco Gisolfo. The inferior workmanship of the maps of the Asiatic connection in the Carter-Brown atlas correspond more nearly to the style of this Florentine atlas, and suggest the composite character of the former, notwithstanding the uniform border-work which runs through all the sheets, even if we allow the other maps to be by Agnese.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. T. JEFFERSON COOLIDGE, BARRETT WENDELL, WILLIAM R. THAYER, A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, HENRY W. HAYNES, G. STANLEY HALL, EDMUND F. SLAFTER, and WILLIAM R. LIVERMORE.

MEMOIR

OF

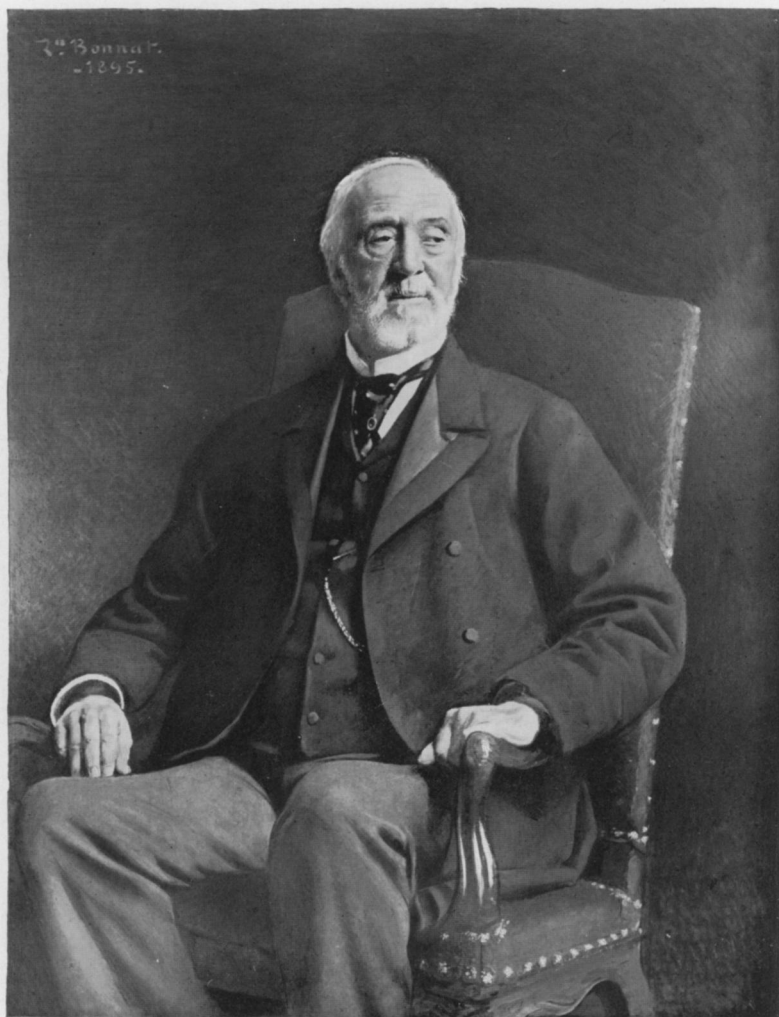
HENRY LILLIE PIERCE.

BY JAMES M. BUGBEE.

THE name Pierce, or Peirce, one of the many variations from the original name of Peter, was borne by a number of persons in England in the seventeenth century who achieved sufficient distinction to secure a place in the Dictionary of National Biography. In the lists of emigrants to America, between 1620 and 1700, are to be found many representatives of the name, most of them evidently of the lower middle class. Among them was one who signed his name "John Pers,"¹ of Norwich, Norfolk County, a weaver, aged forty-nine years, who, with his wife, four children, and a man-servant, reported for examination April 8, 1637, as "desirous to passe to Boston, in New England, to inhabitt." He settled in Watertown, where a lot of land was granted him, and was admitted a freeman in March, 1638-9. He subsequently purchased several lots of land in Watertown and Lancaster, and is referred to by a local historian as a man of "very good estate."

His eldest son, Anthony, from whom the subject of this notice descended, came to this country some years before his father, although his name does not appear on any of the English lists of emigrants. He was admitted a freeman September 3, 1634; and on his death, in 1678, he left a prosperous family, whose descendants, mostly small farmers, settled in

¹ In the early records of the colony the name was spelled Perce, Pearse, Peerce, Peers. The usual pronunciation in New England of the name borne by the descendants of John Pers (now generally spelled either Peirce, Pierce, or Pearce) is like *purse*. The verb *pierce* appears to have been generally so pronounced previous to the present century. Milton rhymes it with *verse*. It is not unusual at this day to hear old-fashioned country people pronounce it in that way.



Henry L. Pierce

the towns near Boston. John Pierce, a great-grandson of Anthony, bought land in Stoughton (now a part of Canton) in 1731, and subsequently settled there. His great-grandson, Col. Jesse Pierce, the father of Henry, was born there November 7, 1788.¹

Colonel Pierce was a man of higher parts than his forebears, and might well be taken as a type of the builders of New England. He received a better education than usually fell to the lot of the sons of small farmers in those days. He began to teach school at the age of nineteen, and pursued that vocation for over twenty years, first in the public schools of Norfolk County, and later as the head of private schools in Milton and Stoughton. He took an active part in town affairs. In the militia service he passed through all the grades from ensign to colonel. He served six years as Representative to the General Court, 1832-36 and 1840. Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who was Speaker of the House in 1840, recalled him many years later as "a most intelligent and estimable person." He was a member of the Democratic party until 1848, when he joined the Free Soil party; but his sympathies with the anti-slavery movement led him to repudiate the nomination of Polk for the Presidency in 1844, and to cast his vote for James G. Birney. In 1824 he married Elizabeth Smith Lillie, daughter of Capt. John Lillie, who served with distinction in the War of the Revolution. The Lillies were connected by marriage with some of the best families in New England.²

After his marriage Colonel Pierce became owner of a farm in the western part of Stoughton (on the Bay Road, running from Dorchester to Taunton), which had formerly belonged to his maternal uncle Lemuel Smith, and there, on the 23d of August, 1825, Henry Lillie Pierce was born. From his parents he inherited traits of a diverse character. His father, like most New Englanders who belonged to the Methodist church, took life very seriously. He was a man of the highest integrity, conscientious to a painful degree, undemonstrative, and of a sensitive disposition. The mother was a woman of great force of character, plain-spoken, of strong prejudices,

¹ A biographical sketch of Col. Jesse Pierce, written by his son, Hon. Edward L. Pierce, will be found in the *Pierce Genealogy*, p. 159.

² See monograph on Capt. John Lillie by Edward L. Pierce.

and doubtless took some inward pride in the fact that she was of good family, that her father had served as a trusted officer under Washington and Lafayette, and had been handsomely complimented by them on their retirement from the army.¹

Henry's environment in his youth could hardly be described as a cheerful one; but it was probably less narrow and grim than in most New England country homes of that time, in which the literature for the young was restricted almost wholly to the New England Primer and the Assembly's Catechism. He attended the town school first, and then, for a short time, the Dorchester Academy; but the instruction he received at home from his father, an experienced teacher, formed the most substantial basis for his future development. As a youth, his brother says, he was full of vitality, high spirits, playfulness, — always good company.

In the summer of 1840 he was in the Milton Academy, having as a schoolmate George Heywood, of Concord, for whom he ever after retained a warm feeling of regard. In 1841-2 he attended the Academy in Bridgewater for a short time, and in the autumn of 1842 entered the Normal School at that place, then in charge of Nicholas Tillinghast, a graduate of West Point, who was somewhat stiff and formal in his manner, but a master of the studies he taught, clear-headed, and sincere.

Henry was seventeen years old at this time, a tall, awkward, diffident, and sensitive youth, whose knowledge of the world was limited to an occasional trip to Boston with his father, a glimpse of the General Court, and a dinner at the Lamb Tavern. He was already beginning to have his own ideas of men and affairs, some of which found expression in contributions to the county paper for which his father subscribed.

In March, 1843, after being connected with the school about eight months, he was obliged to leave on account of a severe illness from which he never fully recovered. He made a trip to Niagara and Toronto in the summer of 1843; and in De-

¹ Washington gave a certificate to Lillie, dated December 1, 1783, in which, after enumerating the captain's military services, he said: "In all which several stations and capacities I do hereby further certify and make it known that the aforesaid Captain Lillie has conducted himself on all occasions with dignity, bravery, and intelligence."

Lafayette, with whom he served at Monmouth and Brandywine, gave him a sword which is now in the possession of his grandson Edward L. Pierce.

cember following went back to the Normal School. But his health gave way in a few weeks, and he was obliged to return home. He appears to have been in the school again for about three months in the winter of 1844-45; and with that his schooling ended. It was a slender equipment for anything more than an ordinary business life. He wished to fit himself for college at this time, but persistent ill-health compelled him to abandon the idea. With a higher education, unless counter-acting influences had been brought into play, he might have gone far. He had a real fondness for good literature; and he lost no opportunity to hear the best speakers of his time on political or educational subjects. He often spoke, in later years, of the delight with which he listened to a two hours' speech by John Quincy Adams, in October, 1843.

Although he spent less than a year altogether in the Normal School, he was a diligent student while there, and his mind received a stimulus which was of immense value to him. For the principal, Tillinghast, he retained ever after a feeling of respect and affection such as Burke had for the Quaker teacher under whom he studied two years at Ballitore.

Henry spent most of his time at home during the next two or three years (1845-48), doing light farm work. In 1846 his father took him to the Saratoga Springs to see if the waters would not help him; but soon after he arrived there he was stricken with typhoid fever and came near dying. When he recovered sufficiently, he was taken down the Hudson River to New York and thence by boat to Providence.

In 1848 he served as a member of the School Committee of Stoughton. In the presidential election of that year, the first in which he was qualified to vote for the head of the government, he worked with great energy and enthusiasm for the Free Soil candidates, Van Buren and Adams, and did more, it is said, than any other citizen to give the lead to them in his town.

In 1849 the Pierce family removed from Stoughton to Dorchester, and Henry secured employment soon after in the chocolate mill owned by his mother's half-brother, Walter Baker.¹ He received about three dollars a week for his ser-

¹ Major John Lillie's widow married, October 5, 1803, Edmund Baker, a chocolate manufacturer, who had succeeded his father, Dr. James Baker, the founder, in 1780, of the Baker chocolate establishment. Walter Baker was a son of Edmund by his first marriage.

vices. His political opinions irritated his employer, who was a Webster Whig, and after a year's service, seeing no prospect of promotion, he gave up his place and determined to try his fortunes at the West. He got a letter of introduction to Mr. Cramer, the editor of a paper in Milwaukee, and tried to secure employment either as a sub-editor in a newspaper office or as a teacher in the public schools. He spent several months in visiting the straggling settlements in the Northwest which, forty years later, had become great cities; but he found no opening for such talent as he had to offer, and returned home discouraged. On the request of Mr. Baker's partner, Sidney B. Williams, he went back to the chocolate mill; and was soon after put in charge of the counting-room which had just been opened in Boston.

Walter Baker died in 1852, leaving the business, on certain conditions, to Mr. Williams. Mr. Pierce appears to have been better qualified to carry on the business than his employer, but although the management of it fell largely into his hands after Mr. Baker's death, he had to be content with a salary of \$800. Williams died of cholera, at Montreal, in 1854; and after a long negotiation, and with many doubts as to the wisdom of the step, the trustees of the Baker Estate leased the plant to Mr. Pierce for ten years, subject to a life interest for a certain amount, payable annually to Mr. Baker's widow. He was heavily handicapped at first, as he had to depend entirely on borrowed capital. But he prospered steadily from the start, and was able to pay off his obligations in a few years. The lease was renewed for terms of ten years until October 31, 1884, when, all claims under the Baker will having been satisfied, the entire property was conveyed by the trustees to Mr. Pierce.

The amount of business carried on at that time was comparatively small, but it was highly profitable for the capital employed. The factory was on the Dorchester side of the Neponset River, at a point known as the Lower Mills; and there, on the same spot, if not in the same building, the manufacture of chocolate was, it is said, begun for the first time in the then British provinces of North America. The story goes that in the year 1765 one John Hannan, an Irish immigrant, who had failed to get work and who was out of means, wandered into the rustic saw-mill, and represented that he had

learned in London the art of making a new kind of chocolate ; and that, if he could have a corner of the mill and a little water-power, he could build up a good business. He was given a place, and while he did not make a fortune he was not altogether unsuccessful. In 1780 the small plant which he had established fell into the hands of Dr. James Baker ; then, in the order of succession, it fell to his son Edmund Baker, his grandson Walter Baker, and his grandson's half-nephew (if the relationship may be so described) Henry L. Pierce.

Under the management of Mr. Pierce the business was developed to a remarkable extent. His visit to the Paris Exposition of 1867, where he had an opportunity to see the latest French machinery and the newest methods of treating the crude material, first gave him, perhaps, an adequate idea of the market which might be opened up for his manufactures in this country. He began soon after to enlarge his factory, introduce foreign machinery, and manufacture a greater variety of cocoa and chocolate preparations. The increase of business led to an increase of competition, foreign and domestic, which was often unfair and unscrupulous. The struggle to maintain his supremacy in the markets of this country called out all his resources. At the end of forty-two years (1854-96), he left it the largest business of the kind on this continent, — the annual sales being more than forty times larger than when he took it. He never failed ; he was never involved in financial difficulties ; he never had any trouble with his employees, who were always well treated, promptly paid, and thoroughly loyal to their employer. He asked no favors of the government in the shape of protective duties. The crude cocoa used in his manufactures has always been admitted free of duty, as it did not come in competition with anything that could be raised in this country ; but a small duty was put upon the manufactured products which was about equivalent to the duty the domestic manufacturer had to pay on the machinery, the tin plate, and the sugar he was obliged to use.

He always took the ground that, if he could have all the materials used in the manufacture of his goods free of duty, he could, by his improved methods, the more intelligent application of the labor of his employees, and the proximity of the market to be supplied, compete successfully with the foreign manufacturers while paying a much higher per diem

rate of wages. Of his general views on the tariff question something will be said further on.

As already stated, Mr. Pierce had begun to talk and write on political questions long before he was qualified to vote. The annexation of Texas, the Mexican war, and the discussion of the Fugitive Slave Law made him a hot and hearty supporter of the most uncompromising element in the Free Soil organization out of which the Republican party was evolved. His sympathies were more with the Abolitionists than with the pro-slavery Whigs and Democrats; but he never identified himself with those who were ready to resort to unconstitutional methods in resisting the encroachments of the slave power. When Webster spoke in front of the Revere House, on his first return from Washington after the 7th of March speech, Mr. Pierce was one of those who greeted him with hisses. Speaking of it many years afterwards, he expressed his regret for having done such a thing; and it is mentioned here simply as showing the temper of his mind at the time. He did not regret having aided and abetted, to a certain extent, the attempted rescue of Anthony Burns four years later.

He had become quite intimate at this time, both socially and politically, with Hon. Francis W. Bird, one of the most interesting characters in the political history of the State; a man of strong and active mind, who exerted a powerful influence over those with whom he came in contact; a terror to trimmers and time-servers, and an ardent supporter of every honest movement for reform. He also became intimate then, or shortly after, with William S. Robinson, better known as "Warrington," the Boston correspondent of the "Springfield Republican." Robinson's views on the questions of the day were sometimes narrow and often prejudiced, but they were always honest, and were always expressed with great clearness and force. His influence was, on the whole, a healthy one.

The disruption of the Whig party, and the defections from the Democratic party, brought about a curious and altogether discreditable condition of affairs at this time in the politics of the State. The Native-American, or "Know Nothing," party, which had figured for some years in a small way in local elec-

tions, swept the State in 1854, filling the General Court and the elective State offices with the representatives of every idiosyncrasy to be found in a community in which individualism was a form of religion.

Rufus Choate, writing to a friend at the time, said : " Your estate is gracious that keeps you out of hearing of our politics. Anything more low, obscene, feculent, the manifold heavings of history have not cast up. We shall come to the worship of onions, cats, and things vermiculate. Renown and grace are dead. There 's nothing serious in mortality."

Wilson, Banks, Burlingame, and many other rising young politicians made use of the secret societies which constituted the Know-Nothing party, to push themselves to the front. Mr. Pierce was young, ambitious, and inexperienced ; he knew that he could secure instant recognition and political preferment if he would become a member of one of the "dark-lantern lodges"; but he never hesitated for a moment to put himself in opposition to them. To oppose the Republicans who supported Banks, and who had formed a coalition with the "Know-Nothings," he organized, in 1857, what was known as the Straight Republican party. It was intended as a protest against the bargaining and intriguing methods of those who had got control of the newly formed Republican party. Its voting power was very small, but its protest carried weight and was not without results at a later day.

At the State convention of Straight Republicans, held in Boston on October 15, 1857, Mr. Pierce was nominated for Treasurer and Receiver-General. The correspondent of the "Springfield Republican," in giving an account of the convention, said : " As he [Henry L. Pierce] is the man of all others most responsible for the movement, there is no probability that he will decline the nomination, — unless he should be elected."

In the presidential campaign of 1856 Mr. Pierce had supported Fremont, but he had no illusions concerning that picturesque child of fortune. The nomination of Lincoln, in 1860, gave him a candidate whom he could support with the utmost enthusiasm.

At the annual State election, in November, 1859, he was chosen a representative from Dorchester to the General Court. He served as a member of the House for four years, 1860,

1861, 1862, and 1866. He soon came to be recognized as the leader of the radical wing of the Republican party, — the men who proposed to fight rather than make even the smallest concessions to the slave States. In the session of 1860 he was successful in getting a bill passed, both by the House and the Senate, amending the militia laws so that colored men might be enlisted into the service. Governor Banks vetoed the bill on the ground that it would irritate the South and impair the standing of the State in the national councils. The veto was sustained; but four years later the amendment was passed and received the approval of Governor Andrew.

On retiring from office, at the beginning of the session of the General Court for 1861, Governor Banks recommended, in his farewell message, the repeal of the personal liberty law, so called,¹ which had been enacted with a view to hamper, if not defeat, the enforcement in Massachusetts of the federal law relating to the return of fugitive slaves. The repeal was favored by George Ashmun, who presided at the national convention which nominated Lincoln in 1860, and by many leading Republicans in and out of the State. Mr. Pierce made a determined stand against the repeal; but he assented to an explanatory amendment of the law,² (favored by Governor Andrew) to avoid a possible construction which might involve a conflict between the National and State officers.

Charles Sumner wrote "a long and earnest letter"³ to Mr. Pierce, January 29, 1861, in which he said: "I was glad when you were chosen to the Legislature; but I did not know then that I should have the special occasion for gratitude which fills me when I think that you are there to meet with steadfast opposition all those timid counsels which seek to overthrow our Massachusetts safeguards of personal liberty; for I did not then imagine that the Republican party, fresh from its greatest triumph, would be willing to sacrifice these safeguards."

At the special session in May, 1861, Mr. Pierce led the movement, which was unsuccessful, to get an expression of opinion from the legislature in favor of such a change in the national laws as would authorize the enlistment of

¹ Gen. Stat. c. 144.

² Chap. 91, Acts 1861.

³ *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, by Edward L. Pierce, vol. iv. p. 21.

colored men in the regular army. This was probably intended as a note of defiance to the compromisers, — carrying Africa into the war, as Senator Sumner said.

In the session of 1862, as chairman of the Committee on Finance, he reported and carried through the House two important measures; namely, an act providing for the payment of the interest and principal of the State bonds in gold (this was after the legal tender act that had been passed by Congress), and an act levying a moderate tax on insurance companies and savings banks.

During the war he gave his time and his money liberally to the cause of the government, — promoting enlistments, assisting the work of the sanitary commission, and serving for a time at Fort Warren as a member of the Independent Corps of Cadets.

In 1867 he made an exhibit of his manufactures at the Paris Exposition, and was awarded a gold medal. In the following year he was appointed one of the commissioners on the part of the town of Dorchester to confer with commissioners from the city of Boston on the question of the annexation of the two municipalities. He favored annexation both for business and political reasons, and had he not used all his influence among his townsmen and in the legislature, the measure would have been defeated at that time. At the city election in December, 1869, he was chosen as the first representative of the Dorchester District in the Boston Board of Aldermen. He gave two years of conscientious and painstaking service to that office, and gained an insight into the local administration which, at a later day, was of great use to him.

After the Republican National Convention of 1872 had been held, Mr. Pierce went to Europe for three months, partly for recreation and partly to gain time for consideration of the political situation. His admiration for Grant's services in the war made him reluctant to admit the General's inaptitude for civil office. He sympathized with Sumner, but could not fully approve of the Senator's aggressive attitude towards the administration. Personal observation of Grant's *entourage* a few years later produced on his mind quite as sinister an impression as it had on Sumner's. But, looking at it as a practical question, from his standpoint of 1872, it seemed to him better to have Grant for another four years, with the

Republican party behind him, than it was to have a man of Greeley's erratic mind backed by an organization composed of men who could not by any possibility act together for any length of time. On returning from Europe, he called a meeting of his party in Dorchester and gave his reasons for supporting the Republican nominees.

He was now in receipt of an ample income, and had systematized his business so that he was able to give a good deal of time to outside matters. It was his wish to become a member of Congress when a favorable opportunity offered; and he would probably have received the nomination from the Third District at this time (1872) had he remained at home and entered more warmly into the canvass for the re-election of Grant. As it was, the nomination went to William Whiting, who had been Solicitor of the War Department, and who was on the best of terms with the existing administration.

The lack of executive capacity shown by the city authorities in dealing with the great fire which occurred in Boston on the 9th of November, and also in failing to check the smallpox epidemic, which had assumed alarming proportions, caused considerable dissatisfaction among the business men, and resulted in a call upon Mr. Pierce to stand as a non-partisan candidate for the office of Mayor. He was reluctant to enter the contest, as his feelings were more concerned at that time in national than in local affairs; but the call was a serious one, and he felt it to be his duty to accept. He was elected by a close vote.

The task which he had to perform was both difficult and delicate. The executive powers of the city government at this time were exercised largely by committees of the two branches of the City Council. Partly by special legislation, and partly through the neglect of the Mayor to assert his rightful authority, the office had come to play a very inferior part practically in the government of the city. Under the irresponsible system of committee rule, two of the most important departments of the local government had completely broken down.

Mr. Pierce knew that he would have public opinion at his back in exercising to the full extent of the law the power which belonged to his office. In his inaugural address he stated significantly that he should consider it his duty, in

cases of emergency, to exercise the paramount authority conferred by the charter upon the chief executive officer of the city. And in conclusion he said: "Since the settlement of those great national questions which absorbed the public attention during and for a number of years following the civil war, the people are beginning to recognize the necessity of looking more carefully after the management of their local affairs. It is in the government of our large cities that Republican institutions are being put to the severest test. The results in many respects have not thus far been encouraging. It must not be in the metropolis of New England that local self-government shall be stamped as a failure."

He recommended the prompt re-organization of the Health and Fire departments, and brought all the power of his office and all his personal influence to bear to have the recommendations carried out. Within ten days after taking office he had re-organized the Health Department and established a hospital in which smallpox patients could be isolated. The deaths from this disease had, at the beginning of the year, reached the number of fifty a week. Owing to the measures taken by the Mayor, the spread of the disease was immediately arrested, the number of deaths steadily decreased, and in a few weeks the new Board of Health was able to declare that the disease was stamped out. The re-organization of the Fire Department was strongly opposed by the friends of the old system, and it was not until after the occurrence of another serious fire (May 30, 1873) that the Mayor was able to secure the necessary legislation to accomplish his purpose. The form of organization then adopted for the Fire Department was retained for over twenty years. In the Health Department there has been no material change in the organization from that day to this.

The management of executive departments by "three-headed commissions" has been subject since then — and rightly so — to a good deal of criticism; but it should be borne in mind that it would have been impossible at that time to secure favorable consideration for any proposition to place the power in the hands of one man. It was a most important step in the direction of good government to curtail the executive powers of the City Council; it was the beginning of the end of the vicious system of government by committees.

Mr. Pierce secured the adoption of two other measures which he had recommended, — the appointment of a commission to revise the city charter, at the head of which he placed Hon. B. R. Curtis; and the opening of the public library reading-room on Sundays.

Hon. William Whiting died in the summer of 1873, several months before the first meeting of the Congress to which he had been elected; and in the election in November of that year Mr. Pierce was chosen to fill the vacancy. The Democrats failed to nominate any candidate against him, and his election was substantially unanimous. It was a marked tribute to the success of his administration as Mayor. In order to take his seat at the beginning of the session of Congress he resigned the office of Mayor on the 1st of December.

It was during the latter part of his term as Mayor that Mr. Pierce met Mr. Thomas Bailey Aldrich and his family, then living in James Russell Lowell's house at Elmwood, Cambridge. Two years before (November 1, 1871) he had lost his mother, with whom he had always lived, and to whom he was devotedly attached. The lonely life he was now leading at home had begun to tell on his health and spirits. He was fond of books, and had the admiration of a bookish man of business for writers of good literature. Under these circumstances the acquaintanceship with the Aldriches soon ripened into a friendship which lasted without a break during the remainder of his life.

The Republicans had control of both branches of Congress at this time. Their majority in the House was so large and contained so many men who aspired to be leaders that it was impossible to preserve party discipline. One wing of the party, of which General Butler might be considered the leader, sought to maintain political control of the States lately in rebellion by measures which imperilled Republican institutions. The other wing, represented in the Senate by Sumner and in the House by Garfield, Hawley, Foster, and a few others, favored a more conciliatory policy towards the South.

Mr. Pierce was one of the strongest and most persistent opponents of what might be called the Butler school of politics. On most questions he was in hearty accord with Sumner, for

whom he had a great personal liking ; but his mind was of too practical and independent a character to follow the Senator in all things.¹ He was deeply affected by the sudden death of Sumner on the 11th of March, 1874,² only a little more than three months from the beginning of the session. The social life of Washington lost much of its attraction for him after that event.

Mr. Pierce voted against the Sherman bill (passed in 1875) to resume specie payments in 1879, on the ground that, as it contained no provision for destroying the retired "greenbacks," it would fail to accomplish its purpose. He was mistaken in believing that the government would be unable to resume at the date named, but the "greenbacks" still constitute a menace to the maintenance of the gold standard.

In the latter part of the session he made a short but forcible speech in opposition to the bill to protect electors (popularly known as the Force Bill) giving the President extraordinary powers to interfere in the internal affairs of the States, and, in his discretion, to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

"Local self-government and the equality of all men before the law are," he said, "the cardinal principles of my political faith. By these principles I stand or fall. I resisted the Fugitive Slave Bill because it trampled upon the principles of civil liberty and the rights of human nature. The bill now under consideration is permeated with the spirit which gave life and vigor to that odious measure. Of the supporters of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the most conspicuous were Jefferson Davis and John C. Breckenridge. Some of the most blatant and pretentious supporters of Davis and Breckenridge in conventions and before the people, are here to-day the especial champions of this bill.³ . . . I know Massachusetts, and I have spoken her sentiments here. She has always interposed a firm resistance to the approach of arbitrary power. She resisted unto blood the Stamp Act, Writs of Assistance, and all the force bills which were enacted by Parliament to compel her submission to the British

¹ He differed from Sumner on a number of important public questions, *e. g.*, the impeachment of President Johnson, the opposition to the re-election of Grant in 1872, and the confirmation of Caleb Cushing as Chief Justice.

² He dined with Sumner, who had only one other guest, on the evening of the 10th ; and had retired but a short time when he was recalled to the Senator's house to find him at the point of death.

³ This had special reference to General Butler, one of the chief promoters of the bill.

crown. She will be true to her traditions and to her history, and will resist by all constitutional means every attempt, by whomsoever made, to impose similar measures upon any portion of the people of our common country."

He joined the Democrats in filibustering against the passage of the bill, but it was carried in the House as a party measure. In the Senate it was ordered to a second reading, and then dropped. Commenting on the passage of the bill by the House, the "Springfield Republican" said: "It is putting the case mildly to say that it is the worst day's work any party has done for itself since a Democratic majority passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill."

In the elections to the next Congress the Democrats, for the first time in many years, secured a majority of the Representatives from Massachusetts, and had full control of the House. Mr. Pierce, however, had not only the united support of his own party, but the votes of many Democrats who admired his independent course, and he was handsomely re-elected.

During the session of the Forty-fourth Congress (December 6, 1875-March 4, 1877) he was at the head of the Republican members of the Committee on Commerce. He made a very full and valuable report on the subject of relieving vessels engaged in the coasting trade from the unjust and discriminating legislation of some of the States concerning pilotage fees. He made two formal speeches of some length, — one in favor of an amendment to the Constitution, limiting the term of office of the President (this with a view to check the aspirations of Grant to a third term¹); and the other in opposition to the claims of certain parties to a share in the Geneva award.

The most courageous act of his political life, perhaps, and the one by which he is probably best known outside of his native State, was performed near the close of this session. He had been a cordial supporter of Hayes in the presidential canvass of 1876, and had followed very closely and anxiously the proceedings of the Republican returning boards in the Southern States, in which the Democrats appeared, on the face of the returns, to have a majority of the votes. He came to the con-

¹ He also voted for a resolution supported by the Democrats, declaring that a departure from the time-honored custom of retiring from the presidential office after a second term, was unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions.

clusion that the vote of Louisiana could not justly be counted for Hayes. He was not prepared to say, in view of all the circumstances attending the election, that the vote ought to be counted for Tilden. Following the precedents in such cases, the vote of Louisiana should be thrown out. But that gave the election to Tilden. He regarded Tilden as rather a shifty politician, but it seemed to him that it would be vastly more dangerous as a precedent to count in Hayes on a fraudulent return than to throw out that return and decide the election in favor of the Democratic candidate.

To prevent a deadlock between the House and the Senate, he supported the bill to create an electoral commission, whose decision on the disputed returns was to be final, unless reversed by a vote of both houses. The general rule under which the commission decided to act, namely, that it was only empowered to canvass electoral votes, not popular votes, and to decide whether the Governor had certified those electors who had been declared elected by the canvassing authority of the State, carried the electoral vote of Louisiana to the Republican column.

That decision Mr. Pierce declared he could not sustain. It was said by some of his party associates that, after voting to establish the commission, he was bound by its finding, and that, by voting against the finding, he was obstructing a settlement. But under the Constitution the responsibility for counting the electoral votes and declaring the result devolved upon Congress, and could not be avoided by that body. It was as much the duty of members of Congress to vote to reverse the decision of the commission, in whole or in part, if they thought it wrong, as it is for a justice of the Supreme Court to file a dissenting opinion in a case in which, in his judgment, the decision of a lower court, or the decision of a majority of his associates, is not in accordance with the common or the statute law. The question would have been settled just as promptly and just as authoritatively if both branches of Congress had voted against the decision of the commission as it was by the vote of one branch to sustain it.

When the question came up for final action in the House, the feeling was intense; the floor and galleries were crowded, and the scene was a memorable one. As the speeches were limited to ten minutes, there was little opportunity for ora-

torical display. Mr. Pierce spoke very impressively, in a voice that could be heard throughout the chamber, and was listened to with the closest attention. "That gross fraud," he said, "was committed in the canvass of the votes is admitted, I believe, by both parties; and it is also admitted that the returning board acted in the discharge of their duties in an illegal and arbitrary manner. If these are not matters which the representatives of all the people, authorized by the Constitution to count the votes and declare the result, can inquire into, then this government stands on a very insecure foundation."

Julius H. Seelye, of western Massachusetts, was the only Republican who joined him in his protest. While Mr. Pierce believed that the decision of the electoral commission, so far as the vote of Louisiana was concerned, was wrong, he accepted the decision of Congress as concluding the whole question, and as giving a perfect title to Mr. Hayes, who had conducted himself throughout the whole controversy in a way that won the respect of all fair-minded men.

Some time before the elections to the Forty-fifth Congress, Mr. Pierce announced in the public press his determination to decline a re-election. When first chosen he had looked forward to a much longer service. He went to Washington with high hopes of usefulness in a field peculiarly attractive to him, and one in which he felt that he was capable of doing good work. He was disappointed. He found himself forced into the position of opposing his party associates on the most prominent questions of the day. He had to spend himself not in promoting good legislation, but in opposing bad; he saw the public service under Grant's administration steadily deteriorating; his social relations with the party leaders were becoming strained; and he knew that if he remained in Washington he would presently find himself without a party and without the ability to serve his constituents in matters in which they had a right to his service.

He stated at the time that he should not take public office again. It was his intention to devote himself to his manufacturing business, taking part in public affairs only as a business man, and on occasions when he could make his influence felt. It was in this spirit that he attended the reform conference in New York, in the spring of 1876, which adopted an address

recognizing it as the most pressing duty of American citizens "to re-establish the moral character of our government, and to elevate the tone of our political life."

In the autumn of that year he made a number of speeches in different parts of the State in support of Hayes for President, and in opposition to the return of General Butler to Congress. In concluding his remarks concerning Butler's political record, he said: "A solemn responsibility rests upon every good man here to do all that in him lies to prevent the indorsement of one who, to use the words of Lord Macaulay in describing a notorious member of the British government, 'is a bad man, a very bad man, a scandal to politics.'"

Soon after the national election of 1876, a petition, signed by over 2,500 taxpaying citizens, "representing all classes and all parties," was presented to Mr. Pierce, asking him to stand as a candidate for mayor of Boston. He felt that, whatever his personal inclinations might be, the call was not one to be declined. The contest was a sharp one, calling out a very heavy vote, but he was elected over his Democratic opponent by a large majority.

In his inaugural address he referred to some of the schemes which had been suggested for improving local government by a limitation of the suffrage, or by transferring the more important duties to commissions appointed by the State authorities. "While I am perfectly sensible," he said, "of the defects in our present system of municipal administration, I cannot help regarding with distrust any scheme for curing them by a radical change in the New England system under which we have grown up, and which, notwithstanding its defects, has thus far produced better results than any other system that has been tried in this country."

During the interval since Mr. Pierce's previous administration, the Police Department had become conspicuous for want of discipline and efficiency. He determined, therefore, to reorganize it upon substantially the same basis as the Health and Fire departments; but in order to do so, additional State legislation was required. Mainly through his influence and upon his representations, the necessary legislation was secured, and the department was put on a business footing. Some years later, through the influence of the temperance organizations on the country members of the legislature, the appointment

of police commissioners was transferred from the mayor of the city to the governor of the State. Mr. Pierce, who was not in office at the time, strongly opposed this violation of the principle of local self-government.

At the end of the year he declined a re-election, his health having become greatly impaired under the strain of official duties and the care of his large manufacturing business. He went abroad as soon as his successor was inaugurated, and spent the next five months in the south of Europe.

In the Republican primary meetings for the election of delegates to the State convention of 1879 Mr. Pierce's name appeared prominently in connection with the nomination for Governor to succeed Thomas Talbot, who had declined a re-election. While he did not seek the nomination he stated frankly that he would be glad to accept it if it came to him as the expressed will of the party. The contest turned largely on the temperance question. John D. Long was the candidate of those who were opposed to the license system. Mr. Pierce was in favor of the existing system of local option, and the strict regulation and limitation of the liquor traffic in the towns and cities voting for the issue of licenses. An informal ballot in the convention showed that Mr. Long had about four sevenths of the votes, and Mr. Pierce's friends then joined in making the nomination unanimous.

Most of the delegates to the Republican State convention of 1883 were elected before Mr. Pierce returned from his customary summer trip to Europe; and it was evident that a majority were in favor of nominating him for Governor. The party leaders and the party followers appeared to be substantially united in believing him to be the strongest man to oppose Governor Butler, who was seeking a re-election. As soon as he reached home he was urged to announce his candidacy, but he declined to make any statement until he had time to consider the situation. Much to the regret of his supporters, he decided, just before the meeting of the convention, to withdraw in favor of Hon. George D. Robinson, who already had the support of a number of delegates, and who was better qualified as a speaker to take the field against Butler.

For some years Mr. Pierce had looked with growing distrust upon the men who were gaining the ascendancy in the Repub-

lican party. He had no confidence in the leadership of either Blaine or Conkling, and when the former was nominated for the presidency in 1884, he immediately set about organizing an independent movement. In calling to order the first meeting in Boston of the Republicans who repudiated the nomination, Mr. Pierce said : " I regret as much as any one the train of events which has brought about the present condition of things ; but I believe it is incumbent upon every good citizen, every one who desires an honest, a pure, a patriotic administration, one free from jobbery, one free from jingoism, and free from various propositions which have been made by the gentleman who has been nominated, to use his utmost efforts to prevent his election to the presidency."

Mr. Pierce subsequently gave his hearty support to Cleveland, not only in the election of 1884 but in the two presidential elections which followed. Although he thus severed his connection with the Republican party, he never identified himself with the Democratic party organization.

After the resumption of specie payments in 1879, the question of reducing the tariff taxes came to the front. There had been no material change in the duties on foreign imports since the war ; and the revenue from that source was greatly in excess of the needs of the government. A commission appointed by the President under the authority of Congress, and composed of a majority of pronounced protectionists, reported that " a substantial reduction of tariff duties was demanded, not by a mere indiscriminate popular clamor, but by the best conservative opinion of the country," and that they regarded such a reduction not only as a due recognition of public sentiment, but as conducive to the general industrial prosperity, and one which would be ultimately beneficial to the special interests affected. The schedule of tariff duties presented to Congress by the commission was represented as involving a reduction of from twenty to twenty-five per cent on the existing rates ; but as amended and passed by Congress, it was found upon trial to be nearly four per cent higher than the rates heretofore in force. A strong feeling of indignation was aroused among the business men at the outcome of the movement, which had been started in good faith under Republican auspices, for a reduction of what had been properly described as a " war tariff." A call

for revenue reform was signed by many of the leading business men in the State, without regard to party, and on the 29th of April, 1884, the Massachusetts Tariff Reform League¹ was organized, with Charles Francis Adams, Jr., as President. Mr. Pierce took a prominent part in the organization; and on the 27th of May, 1886, he was called upon to preside at a meeting of business men, held in the Old South Church, to promote the passage of an act which had recently been introduced into Congress by Mr. Morrison, of Illinois, and which had for its object the removal of duties from many raw materials used by American manufacturers and the simplification of the rules regulating importations. On taking the chair he made a short speech in which he exposed, with great clearness and force, some of the provisions of the Act of 1883 which depressed our industries instead of fostering them, and others which served simply to obstruct trade. His remarks furnished a fruitful text for much of the discussion which extended through the next two presidential elections.

President Cleveland's message to Congress in December following, devoted almost wholly to the question of revising and reducing the tariff duties, was welcomed by Mr. Pierce as an act of great courage and statesmanship on the part of the chief executive. He accepted the position of President of the Tariff League in 1887, and took an active part in the campaign of education carried on by that organization until 1894, when he resigned just before starting on a trip around the world.

In his letter of resignation he said:—

“The tariff act just passed [the Wilson bill, so called] has some positive merits, and has at least the negative merit of being, even in its worst features, less bad than McKinleyism. But the action of certain United States Senators, in violating the solemn pledges of their party under the sinister influences which were openly at work, has brought home to the people the intimate connection between protection and legislative corruption. To my mind, the economic evils arising from unwise restrictions upon trade can better be borne than the utter demoralization of the people's representatives in the presence of organized wealth. This evil will not be cured until the country has established a firm policy, under which private interests will no longer look to Washington for special favors.”

¹ In 1890 the name was changed to the “New England Tariff Reform League,” and in 1895 to the “New England Free Trade League.”

Two years later he found himself obliged, in the interest of honest and orderly government, to use his influence and contribute his money to help elect the very man whose name he had used as the synonyme of all that was most obnoxious in tariff legislation. To one who carried so much earnestness and sincerity into his political work, it was a most disheartening conclusion.

For some years previous to this his general health had been much better than it was during the period of his hardest work; but latterly his eyesight had become somewhat impaired, and he had been advised to keep in the open air as much as possible. He was never so well or so happy as when on the water. He crossed the Atlantic thirty-five times, visiting almost every place of note in Europe. During the last year and a half of his life he owned a handsome steam yacht, and spent much of his time in cruising along the Atlantic coast or in the Southern seas. In September, 1896, he took a severe cold while returning from a business trip to Chicago. His constitution had become weakened by his anxiety over the political situation, and although there appeared to be no organic trouble he was unable to recover his strength and customary hopefulness. Under the advice of physicians, he was having his yacht put in order for a trip to the Bahamas when he was suddenly stricken with paralysis, and, after lingering in a partially conscious state for some days, died on the 17th of December, 1896.

His character was not one easy to understand or to portray. It was deeply marked by "that strange dualism which makes men sometimes strong and sometimes weak." Those who thought to take advantage of what seemed, on a superficial acquaintance, to be a simple and unsuspecting nature, found their efforts to use or mislead him thwarted, but generally in such a way as to make them think that he had failed to penetrate their designs. He was naturally reticent about the things that lay nearest to his heart, and he rarely gave himself unreservedly even to those—and they were few—with whom he was really intimate. This was due in part, doubtless, to his natural shyness, and in part to a secretive disposition.

In his judgment of men he was frequently misled by his

personal prejudices; in his judgment of public measures he was seldom wrong.

He was a man of intuitions. If called upon to act suddenly in public affairs, he almost invariably did the right thing; but it was only after long thought and much disturbance of his nervous system that he was able to give his reasons.

He had an innate faculty for politics. Rev. Dr. Munger, in his remarks at the funeral services held in the Village Congregational Church near the Chocolate Mills, very truly said :

“Mr. Pierce was always a business man, and the evidence is close at hand, but I am inclined to think that he was even more fitted for the affairs of state; and if I go farther and say that he was a statesman, you will not disagree with me. Beyond two terms in Congress, and some service in the Legislature, and as Alderman and Mayor of the city, he had no official life, but he was all through busy with public affairs, and in a way beyond that of the private citizen. He co-operated with other men of like capacity and principles in preparing the way for such legislation as the country required, and in devising measures for directing public opinion in right channels. He had the New England conscience to the full, but its largest play was upon questions of state. Never did I hear him speak of public affairs without mention of the right and wrong involved in the points at issue.

“He was of that type of citizen, — better seen in this Commonwealth than anywhere else in the country, — the citizen who can be loyal to a party, but is yet superior to party; who deals in principles rather than in measures, and does not hesitate how to act when they conflict; who believes in the divine right to bolt.”

Mr. Pierce was always a liberal contributor to the funds for the payment of election expenses; and to escape the importunities of the party workers, he sometimes gave unwisely.

He gave liberally to churches of different denominations, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant. His father was an active member of the Methodist church while he lived in Stoughton, but on moving to Dorchester he attended service in the Orthodox Congregational church of that place; and the son kept up the connection with that church until about the time he went to Congress. After that he was generally away from Dorchester on Sundays, and did not go to church regularly for some years. Later, when he came to spend his Sundays at Mr. Aldrich's house in town, he bought a pew in King's Chapel, and, except when travelling abroad, was con-

stant in his attendance during six or seven months in the year. He came to regard the churches simply as institutions more or less efficient for the promotion of goodness. It might be said that, during the latter part of his life, he had reached the state of development in which, as Mark Pattison said of himself after passing through the Oxford movement, "all religions appear in their historical light as efforts of the human spirit to come to an understanding with that unseen power whose pressure it feels but whose motives are a riddle."

There were four men — Gustavus Adolphus, Burke, Gladstone, and Cleveland — whose doings and sayings occupied his mind and influenced his thoughts very fully at different times in his life. Burke's speeches and political essays were a never-failing resource for him; they added to his enjoyment when things were going well, and they helped to console him when things were going ill.

He was fond of good literature; and even when most closely pressed by public or private affairs, he seldom let a day go by without giving some time to more substantial reading than that contained in the daily papers. He was not a wide reader, but within his chosen field — history, biography, and travel — he was a most intelligent one. In his many trips abroad he found the want of knowledge of French a serious drawback to his enjoyment; and after he was sixty years old he took up the study of that language at odd moments, and learned enough to be able to read a newspaper or a novel with considerable facility.

He was what Dr. Johnson would have called a clubbable man. He was one of the original members of the Union Club, organized in 1863, and was a familiar figure in the clubhouse during the later years of his life. At the time of his death he was a member of eleven clubs in or near Boston, three in New York, and one in London. He was one of the trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts and of the Institute of Technology, a member of the Massachusetts Order of the Loyal Legion (by virtue of his service at Fort Warren during the War), and of many other organizations, social, historical, and political.

He was concerned in very few business enterprises outside of the one with which he was specially identified. For many years all of his income beyond that required for his living expenses, the maintenance of his home in Dorchester, and the

Redman Farm in Ponkapoag (Canton), was used in the extension of his business plant. His personal expenses, until the last years of his life, when failing eyesight compelled him to seek recreation out of doors, were very small as compared with those of most men of large means. He bought a controlling interest in the "Boston Post" in 1886, and for nearly three years furnished most of the money required to make it a high-class, independent newspaper. Finding it apparently impossible to make such a paper pay its expenses, he severed his connection with it, leaving all that he had invested in the enterprise to those who were willing to go on with the publication.

During the last twenty-five years of his life he gave a great deal of money for educational and charitable purposes. His benefactions were not confined to institutions and individuals in his immediate neighborhood; he was a liberal giver to the colored schools and charities at the South and the struggling colleges in the extreme West. The disposition of his property by will was in harmony with the use of his property through life. After providing liberally for relatives, friends, and those in his service, he gave the remainder (more than half of the whole) to religious, educational, and charitable institutions which, by a judicious use of benefactions in the past, had made good their claim to support in the future.

While it cannot be said that he played a great part in the times in which he lived, it may be said without exaggeration that, within the sphere in which he moved, he performed an important part and performed it well. He used and improved his talents so that not only the community in which he lived, but the broader commonwealth which he served and loved, was the better for his having lived.